

539 a victim and Christ's Passion. He also pointed out that by performing this chant,
 776 the dancers were sacrificing their bodies to Christ. There was no harm in this
 177 performance, he said, because the sentiments in both forms of religion were the
 same.

[535] Councillor Ase added a more earthy dimension to the pastor's words when he
 declared that it was Jesus Christ who had given the Papuans the benefit of wage
 labour. This sentiment might have appealed to Governor Murray. It completes
 the image of Jesus as *dema*. First, Jesus was killed and gave His body to
 mankind, or to His followers, by being crucified. His body is still being
 consumed at Communion services, the deep sacredness of which the Papuans
 recognise. He also left behind him immense *gifts*: the technology (cargo) of the
 white man, and money with which men may acquire this cargo. Wage labour is
 one of the means now open to the Papuans for acquiring at least a little of this
 money and cargo. Thirdly, like all *dema*, he left behind a set of rules which men
 have to follow if they are to obtain full access to the particular kind of *ivo* he
 bequeathed upon mankind.

182 It now becomes a little clearer how the Orokaiva have found a rationale,
 771 satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are adopting in response
 776 to the impact of white power. The coming of the white man is viewed as an
 177 event of the same magnitude as the addition of a new *dema* to the pantheon.
 The most crucial fact about this new *dema* is that it was through his help that
 the white man obtained extraordinary wealth and power. It was hinted to me
 from time to time that the white man should have been far more generous in
 sharing this wealth and power with the Papuans. At the same time, however, it
 was emphasised that the Orokaiva had already received some substantial
 benefits, for example the introduction of money, wage labour and cash
 cropping. My informant the councillor, whose contact with white authority had
 [623] been somewhat closer than was usual in the district, claimed special knowledge
 [115] about how European-type power might be obtained. It was on the basis of this
 knowledge that he felt entitled to advise his people to shift to another village.
 But his audience did not really believe he knew anything.

While the councillor's competence was doubted, his basic ideas were generally
 accepted: Orokaiva progress was thought to depend on the following of
 prescriptions originating from the *dema* Jesus Christ. The white man had
 revealed only part of these prescriptions. (In this respect Orokaiva beliefs
 resembled those reported by Burridge 1960, 1969.) It was thought, moreover,
 that these rules prescribed ritual acts performed for the first time by Jesus Christ
 and now imitated by those who are fully initiated in His mysteries. While these
 Orokaiva beliefs may impede their understanding of the workings of white
 society, they do provide a rationale for those white behaviour patterns which
 Orokaiva are able to observe. They also provide a charter for the changes
 Orokaiva are actually adopting in their exchange system and elsewhere.

177 One experience at Hohorita made me aware how closely the introduction of
 773 Western culture is identified with the action of traditional *dema*. Due to the
 [731] death of most of the older men of the Sangara tribe at the time of the eruption,
 their descendants grew up at Hohorita without much knowledge of myths and
 traditions. Nonetheless, when I visited the village, a number of men spent several
 nights with me telling me what they knew. Their information would mostly be

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relationship. They could conceivably have chosen a different explanation which would have provided a charter for the reinforcement of quite different relationships. If the eruption had not happened at all, the Orokaiva would most probably have taken the same direction, but the charter validating development and baptism would have been weaker for some time. It may be that the exchange ideology would have weakened before development started. The eruption, however, seems to provide Church and government with a most formidable arsenal of negative sanctions in case the relationship is ever broken through the fault of the Orokaiva. We may conclude that the Orokaiva, by their belief in a new kind of divine intervention (through the *dema* figure Jesus Christ), have been encouraged to make new types of economic, social and religious exchanges, while maintaining their assumption of an exchange-oriented universe, and that their philosophy has provided them, at least for a time, with a workable rationale for the contemporary world.

REFERENCES

1. The traditional time concepts of the Orokaiva are probably mainly restricted to what Evans-Pritchard (1939) called 'oecological' and 'structural' time. It is, however, very likely that they also had 'an historical perspective of their own, whatever its depth may be' - rather similar to the one described by M. Panoff for the Maenge (1968). Such a perspective would include not only the *dema* but also the scission of lineages and the settlement of villages. An Orokaiva described lineage fission to me by drawing a tree on the ground - using precisely the same symbolism as Panoff's Maenge informants. Orokaiva stories of the settlement of villages also abound, usually giving the name of the tree by which the settlers 'sat down' when they arrived.
2. Pocock (1964) has argued that as culture change becomes more rapid under the impact of European contact, traditional time concepts undergo structural transformation to make them more nearly explanatory of the actual course of events. I believe that the identification of Jesus Christ with a *dema*, as argued in this chapter, is an example of such structural transformation.
3. For the location of Torogota, see Fig. 10.
4. Information on this point was derived from several local planters, including Mr. C. E. Searle of Awala. See also Howlett 1965.
5. Details on communication channels between government and people are given in Schwimmer 1967, 1969.
6. The Sasembata mission station is not in Sasembata village but just north of Kongohambo. See Fig. 10.
7. Reay has reported that 'the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption' (*apud* Taylor, 1958: 21). My own study (Schwimmer 1969) suggests that this view, while not strictly incorrect, needs to be modified. My sources are tape-recorded myths and Miss Nancy White's manuscripts (White, n.d.).
7. Interview with Bishop Hand, January 1967.

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774 women who had joined the group favoured another site: a small settlement
575 very close to Sivepe and the mission station and affiliated with
578 Sasembata village. They never suggested the "practises" should be held in the station. Indeed, although they proceeded night after night, usually from about 10:00 p.m. until well after midnight, the head teacher did not know about them almost until the end, until he drove home late one night and heard something (he did not know what) from the road. Some nights there was no practise because the two sides could not agree on a site. The men seemed to be somewhat irritated by the constant presence of a mission teacher in the village, in a conspicuous role of authority, over their own women. They countered by complaints about the "noise" which made it impossible for them to sleep. This made it easier for the Sivepe women to agree to practise in the next settlement, though they also practised near the house of one of the village dancing leaders who lived away from the complainants and was sympathetic to the kere. In the end, the usual split did occur: the mission women did not actually dance with the group from Sivepe and Sasembata village, but pulled out and formed a second kere party together with Kongohambo women, under the leadership of the deacon's wife, who also knew this dance. Both parties performed in the final performance at the mission station.

These events definitely show the mission station as a cultural force, quite independently of the mission teachers' ecclesiastical or schoolmasterly role. Sivepe was willing to offer the mission station a certain amount of compliance, in return for the valued knowledge that was being supplied, but fought--with success--against the mission station's attempt to use to the occasion to place the village in a position of socio-political subservience.

Section 3: The Mission and Traditional Religion

771 The Orokaiva attitude to Christianity is a complex subject
776 which I intend to treat more fully elsewhere and falls somewhat outside
177 the concern of our present project. It is very clear that some basic notion of Christian monotheism have not been accepted by the Orokaiva, such as for instance the notion of God's omnipotence. Orokaiva Christians believe in the existence of God and in His infinite power, but He is viewed as an addition to other powers, who is hostile to some of these other powers, but not necessarily to others. I was told that a person ought to give up black magic after baptism, but informants dismissed my suggestion that Christianity was also opposed to curing magic. No curing magician ever ceased practising when he was baptised.

177 I have referred several times to the tendency to place ancient
[778] ritual under the protection, so to speak, of the new God. Rituals
[775] connected with the taro cycle were performed at Christmas and Eastertide, preferably on the mission station. While the beliefs about the ghosts

177 of the dead remained basically unchanged, Christian burial rites
[775] and cemeteries are generally used in the belief that they are
[764] efficacious in controlling ghosts. Girls were "shown to the people"
[881] after initiation, preferably on the mission station during the Easter
dances. The kere which was a women's initiation dance, was also
performed on a mission occasion (the celebration of St. Barnabas D y,
in honour of the patron saint of this station).

What was the motive of mission teachers introducing a new form
881 of initiation ritual to the Orokaiva? This extramural activity,
177 performed in the dead of night, signified a little more than the
intertribal status rivalry analysed earlier in this chapter. The
[533] text of the songs gives no obvious clues to their significance at the
present time. Though it was made up of at least four or five languages,
due to diffusion of the cycle through the Northern District, I managed
to collect a translation of most of it during a tour of Port Moresby
when we visited knowledgeable members of various Mura River tribes.
The songs evoke a series of phases in a woman's life, stating symbolically
her role in initiation, courtship, marriage, childbearing and feasting.
They are very rich in symbolic content which is not relevant here. But
they contain no message that can be related to any modern millennial
or cargo cult. During a visit to Uluksu, in the Collingwood Bay district,
my wife found that the old women in that village knew the songs but
not the younger ones. This points to diffusion from the Mura to the
Collingwood Bay district some decades ago. All this evidence confirms
the mission teacher's own explanation given to me that he introduced
this cycle in order to keep old traditions alive, in order to give more
strength to the younger generation which had not been properly initiated.

I was impressed by the strong religious sentiment displayed by
881 the performers especially in the very first dances. They might at that
177 time be doubtful about dance movements and words but not about the
781 demeanour appropriate to the impersonation of spirits. At the very
first practise, even the young girls knew the right bearing, intonation
and rhythm. This was not truly the introduction of an alien ritual;
the purpose and the strategy could not have been more familiar.

The involvement of my wife in this initiatory ritual helped to
771 lend it the ambiguity that was evidently intended. It was not the
177 purpose of the mission teacher to set up this pagan ritual in opposition
to Christianity but rather to bring about its continuity in a Christian
777 order. I have already shown in earlier chapters that the Christian
dispensation is conceived as not only a religious but also and importantly
a socio-economic one--that Christianity, wealth and wage labour are
perceived as part of the same complex. If it can be made to accommodate
women's initiation ceremonies (after jettisoning, of course, those
aspects to which the clergy takes exception) future generations will
have the strength of the forefathers. This desire for greater
strength, in a physical and numerical as well as spiritual sense,
was often expressed to me.

361 mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government
 571 roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading,
 224 Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities
 for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva
 life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands
 (629) by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has
 probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one
 of the few activities which could induce inter-settlement co-
 operation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local
 311 fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off
 of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the
 wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to
 the Orokaiva eye.

157 Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality
 norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Oro-
 kaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social
 structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the
 casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-
 reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability
 at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension inter-
 personal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking
 contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that
 of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before.
 In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at
 airfields for transport, women and children, far from being
 in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the
 men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva ter-
 (657) ritory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal
 (625) Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality char-
 acteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such
 as patrols may encounter.

771 The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly inter-
 esting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though
 in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself
 "primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence
 on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with
 (761) particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as
 (789) the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent
 place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern
 794 times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adap-
 tability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into
 prominence was the *Baigona*, or "snake cult" of 1911-12,
 succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which
 in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by
 the time Williams reported on it in 1924.⁷ Central features
 of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultiva-
 tion with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a
 "shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with some-
 what new types of public ritual and symbols, including frag-
 mentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and
 others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist"
 societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission
 among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing
 of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel
 and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread
 of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives

7. *Orokaiva Magic*, Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. P. and Had-
 den, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea,"
 (113) *Niobert Journal*, 15, 3 pp. 448-461 (1917). Materials are also found
 in the official reports of the time.

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should be formed ... (and that) as a result of their activities the white people would leave Papua and the villagers would be in charge of their own affairs." This type of cooperative movement was stimulated after the war, and included putting crosses in the gardens, offering prayers before gardening activity, building special houses in which cooperators could meet and eat, and collecting money for vague purposes. Even in the face of Mission reluctance and some Orokaiva opposition, Government finally stepped in to try to give it better direction; a Cooperative officer was trying to bring the situation under control when the volcano exploded.⁸

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As final pieces in this background mosaic, the effects of World War II may be noted. When the Japanese moved in they formed labor gangs with the small number of captured whites, including Mission workers, later removing them when Allied attack was imminent. As battles ranged through the area, Orokaiva were drawn in as helpers, willingly or otherwise, on both sides of the lines. After the Japanese surrender, American forces built up large military establishments including airfields in the Buna-Oro Bay zone. Great numbers of Orokaiva were gathered together in work camps which were not unlike the present refugee camps as regards living conditions, food, and social structuring. In the wake of the war, War Damage Compensation representing considerable money wealth by Orokaiva standards came into the area. Some of the younger men who were "veterans" were given technical training at Higatura and elsewhere.

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These Orokaiva were generally resistant to a war-stimulated movement to consolidate into larger settlements although it has had considerable vogue along the coast and in the Kokoda region. Typically, the new villages have been built in an open area, with houses drawn up like a military encampment on three sides of a square or rectangle. The inner square is used for soccer football, which is tremendously popular, and for other community purposes. Subsequent to the eruption, the Orokaiva who resettled along the jeep-roads outside the danger zone were encouraged by Government officers to build this type of village, and the houses were laid out under the official eye. First, the men left the relief camps to erect buildings, and were followed later by the women and children. These new settlements contain anywhere from 100 to 400 persons, with the kin and hamlet alignments usually kept through contiguous housing. Such units are within sight of one another, and from the air resemble a chain of fairly continuous settlements. Some family and hamlet groups, however, have inconspicuously avoided settling in these new villages although this has been difficult because Government has tried to keep a very tight supervision in case its judgment as to the danger perimeter has been wrong. A government post was established in each of the two main resettlement zones to facilitate this supervision.

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Belshaw has observed this resettlement in a somewhat more advanced stage than was seen by the writer. He comments that in general the prime concern of the people was

8. Belshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-252, gives a fuller account of this cooperative movement and its significance. Publications of the Anglican Mission also contain references, seen by the writer some years ago, but not available at the time of writing this paper.